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A New Strategy for Liberty

by Murray N. Rothbard

American political life has experienced a veritable transformation. As usually happens when we are in the midst of a radical social change, we are barely aware that anything is happening, much less its full scope and dimension. In the words of Bob Dylan taunting the hated bourgeoisie in the 1960s: "You don't know what's happening, do you, Mr. Jones?" Except that now the tables have been turned, and "Mr. Jones" is the comfortably ensconced member of the liberal and Beltway elite ruling this country.

The great and inspiring new development is that, for the first time in many a moon, a genuine grassroots right-wing people's movement is emerging throughout the country. This is a very different story from the Official Conservative and Libertarian movement that we have known all too well for many years: a movement where well-funded periodicals, think-tanks, and "public-interest" law firms, snugly (and smugly) established mostly inside the Beltway, set down the Line unchallenged for the subservient folks in the hinterlands.

Funding for these outfits comes mostly from big foundation and corporate donors; the role of the masses "out there" throughout the country is to touch their forelock and kick in with the rest of the dough. Often these Beltway organizations exist only as direct-mail fundraising machines with the usual panel of celebrities on their letterheads: the function of donations is to pay the salaries and to finance luxurious housing for these institutions.

Those Beltway organizations that are really active conduct indirect lobbying on behalf of gradual, marginal reforms hoping to push Congress or the Executive one centimeter to the right; the more important function, however, is to grant their major donors one of the great prizes of Official Washington: access to leading politicians and bureaucrats.

The published reports of these outfits are mainly designed not to advance The Cause, but to demonstrate to their donors the fact of such access: hence, countless pictures of thinktank executives

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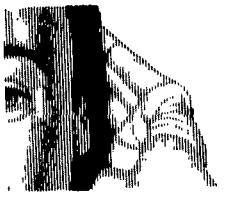

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

The glamorous and popular radio talk show host, Ronna Romney, a genuine conservative, lost her Senatorial primary race in Michigan to the sneaky, treacherous neocon activist Spencer Abraham in a close race (52 to 48 percent). The reason: a vicious last-minute smear campaign by the Abraham forces, backed to the hilt by the overpraised "conservative" machine of Governor Engler.

Going negative in a late blitz, the Abraham forces put out effective anti-Romney TV ads, had women cattily dismiss Ronna as "a ditzy blonde" and "a socialite," and disseminated an unfounded rumor by

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the poisonous pro-choice Republican leader Ann Stone that Ronna had told her privately that she was pro-choice. (Both Romney and Abraham said they were pro-life.) In addition, the Abrahamites called up Arab voters (Michigan has the most Arab-Americans of any state) and told them that Ronna Romney is anti-Arab; and did the same thing with Jewish voters.

Unfortunately, Ronna, a sweet and trusting soul, had made no contingency plans for quick and strong replies to any negative campaigns (as the Clinton forces did so effectively in 1992), and she was caught flat-footed, succumbing to the Abrahamite smears. Live and learn, Ronna! Next time: plan ahead, expect the worst, trust no one, and take no prisoners!

Stabbed in the back, I wouldn't blame Michigan conservatives one bit if they paid Abraham back in kind, and took a walk on Election Day. Not only criminals, but treacherous politicians deserve swift punishment. Congressman Bob Carr, Abraham's liberal allegedly turned "moderate" Democrat opponent, at least doesn't pretend to be a friend and ally.

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I've already reported that Elizabeth McCaughey, the blond, leggy, pretend-"free market" glamourpuss who is running on the Republican ticket in New York for lieutenant-governor, has a romantic conflict of interest: her new squeeze, Wilbur Ross, Jr., senior managing director of Rothschild Inc., is a member of Mario Cuomo's reelection financial team. It now turns out that Ross is *considerably* older than Betsy. Would you say she is his "trophy girl friend"?

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I'm happy to report that Jared Taylor's excellent and courageous 1992 book, *Paved With Good Intentions*, which at long last brought race out of the closet and into the public square (or as public as the kept media would let it), is still giving the Left conniption fits.

Elizabeth Pochoda, book columnist for the *Nation*, refers to the Taylor book's "poisonous influence," and calls it an "underground classic and resource for those eager to promote a sense of white victimization." She praises Marc Naison's discussion of the book and its influence in *Reconstruction*, a leftist magazine in behalf of, though not by, blacks, and dedicated, as its title indicates, to finishing the horrible job that the original Reconstruction did on the South. ■

Jared Taylor's excellent and courageous 1992 book, *Paved With Good Intentions*, is still giving the Left conniption fits.

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shaking hands with Senator Dole, Alan Greenspan, or whomever.

The major purpose of the conferences held by these institutions is not to advance the truth or the free market in the public arena, but to demonstrate, once again, to the major donors that they are capable of bringing in Greenspan or Dole to attend their functions.

The stated excuse of these outfits, many of whom still claim abstract devotion to high libertarian or conservative principle, is that the reason for their location inside the Beltway and for devoting their energies to minor and negligible reforms is that this is the only way they can gain respectability in Washington.

But that, of course, is precisely the problem: change the word "respectability" to "access," and the point becomes all too clear. For a long time, these Washington organizations have not been part of the solution, however gradual or minor; they have been part of the problem: the domination of American life by Washington.

This sort of movement has

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been necessarily top-down, although many of these outfits like to think of themselves as grassroots: the grassroots Americans, however, live to serve the power elite, and the power elite lives to curry favor and access with Leviathan. That is why Samuel Francis's metaphor is so apt about the Beltway conservative movement meeting inside a phonebooth.

But in recent months, something brand new has happened. A grassroots, right-wing populist movement has been springing up all over the country, a movement that has no connection whatever to Official Conservative elites. Having no connection, the Beltway conservatives can have no control over this new right-wing uprising among the people.

Since it is a genuine grassroots movement, it is necessarily fragmented, unsystematic, and a bit chaotic. Also, since the dominant liberal media don't want to hear about it, and the Official Conservative movement is frightened of it, we hear very little of its activities.

While at this early stage the movement may be confused and inchoate, it has one magnificent quality which gives it great intensity and abiding strength: a deep and bitter hatred of the despotism exerted over us in so many hundreds of ways by the central government: hatred of politicians, of bureaucrats, and of Washington, D.C.

Note that this intense hatred, this reaction, this "backlash" against the drive toward collectivism, is necessarily and totally out of synch with the Beltway strategy of Official Conservative and Big-Government Libertarian organizations. Among the growing ranks of these grassroots rebels, this entire strategy and way of life is anathema. These heartland rebels are close to the spirit, not of blow-dried Beltway thinktankers, but of the patriots of the American Revolution.

They, in contrast even to the Reaganauts, are genuine revolutionaries; they are ready and willing to tell Washington, in no uncertain terms, to buzz off. To these new American rebels, the ability to sip martinis with Bob Dole constitutes a heavy liability, not an asset. To these great people, having "access" to tyrants means that you are aiding and abetting tyrants.

The recent revolutionary activities have been manifold and widespread. Since we lack complete information, none of us knows their full extent. Probably the first task of right-wing populist intellectuals is to find out what is going on, to get an idea of the full extent of this glorious phenomenon.

Some of these activities are as follows: an erupting "county militia" movement, in which, for example, entire counties are sworn-in as part of a militia so that they clearly come under the rubric of the Second Amendment and the right to bear arms; an associated and extensive civil disobedience by county sheriffs to the hated and despotic Brady bill; a Tenth Amendment movement: for example, both houses of the Colorado legislature have passed a resolution empowering the governor to call out the National Guard to block federal activities that violate the Tenth Amendment. What doesn't? And there are similar efforts in every other state.

The Committee of the 50 States, a states' rights group, has been resurrected to push the Ultimatum Resolution, proclaiming the dissolution of the federal government when the national debt reaches $6 trillion. The Committee is headed by the magnificent and venerable J. Bracken Lee, former mayor of Salt Lake City and governor of Utah. Lee, who would now be called a staunch paleo-libertarian, repeatedly through his career called for abolition of the income tax, an end to the Federal Reserve, withdrawal from the United Nations, and the elimination of all foreign aid.

In addition, there are various flourishing separatist and secessionist movements: for example, the desire of southwestern Nebraskans and northwestern Kansans to get out from under the despotic controllers and taxers of their "Eastern" big cities, such as Omaha and Wichita. Staten Island wants to secede from horrible New York City, and Vermont wants out of the U.S.

Southern secessionists are

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on the march again, in such new organizations as the Southern League and Peaceful Secession, and grassroots anti-immigration groups are booming in California, Texas, Florida, and other states. The growing and increasingly radical land-rights movement, fighting the confiscation of private property by federal agencies in cahoots with environmentalists, is active in the East as well as the West.

Finally, permeating all sectors of this variegated right-wing movement, there is a healthy and intense abhorrence of the Federal Reserve. These heartlanders may not know precisely what they want done in the field of money, but, happily, they are very firm on what they don't like. In wanting to sweep away the Fed they are right on the mark. Can you imagine what these folks would think of a libertarian outfit that glories in its ability to hobnob with *Greenspan*?

And that, I think, is the major point of this essay. There has been a radical change in the social and political landscape in this country, and any person who desires the victory of liberty and the defeat of the Leviathan must adjust his strategy accordingly. New times require a rethinking of old and possibly obsolete strategies.

I was always opposed to the marginal reform strategy endemic to the Beltway thinktanks. I always thought that any marginal and dubious short-run gains would be earned only at the price of a disastrous long-run abandonment of and therefore defeat for the principles of liberty. But in the America existing before 1994, such a Beltway strategy was at least coherent and arguable.

Now, however, the Beltway strategy is absurd in the short as well as the long run. There is a new mood in America, a lasting change of heart among the conservative masses. As the Marxists used to say, "the masses are in motion," and our first task is to stay with them and try to help their movement be more systematic.

No longer are the conservative masses content to send checks to the biggies in Washington who, in return for their donations, will tell them what to think. No longer are they bowing to their betters who can assure them access to the Corridors of Power. Bless them, these heartland rebels don't want access; they want to sweep the whole Moloch away.

Where does this marvelous and burgeoning new spirit come from? There was an obvious foreshadowing in the anti-politics and anti-Washington mood of 1992. An example is the flawed and incoherent Perot movement, the major virtue of which was not the erratic leader but the spirit of the rank-and-file militants, who were looking for some sort of anti-Washington Change. But that doesn't go very far in explaining the new mass movement, which is far more right-wing, and far more intensely focused, than anything Perotvian two years ago.

No, it seems clear that the trigger for the emergence of this brand-new movement has been the total loathing welling up in America for President and Mrs. Clinton, their persons, their lives, their Cabinet, their entire rotten crew. In all my life, I have never seen such a widespread and intense hatred for any President, or indeed for any politician.

Unlike the attacks on poor Joe McCarthy, this is not a hatred whipped up by the elites. Quite the contrary, the liberal elites are desperately trying to cover for Clinton, and are bewildered and appalled by the entire phenomenon. In a recent column, Thomas Sowell noted the perplexity of the media, and replied, in effect, that the reason the Clintons are widely "perceived" as power-hungry sleazes is because they *are* power-hungry sleazes.

Thus the movement erupted in reaction to all the objectively loathsome attributes of the Clintons and their associates—the stream of lies, evasions, crookery, sex scandals, and frantic attempts to run all of our lives. But quickly the hatred of the personal attributes of Clinton spilled over to his programs, to his ideology. Thus we had the most powerful "nuclear fusion" in all of politics: the intense blending of the personal and ideological. The growing

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realization of the socialist tyranny involved in all of Clinton's programs—a realization that finally cut through the rhetorical fog of the "Mr. New Democrat"—joined with and was greatly multiplied by the loathing for Clinton the man.

During the 1992 elections, some of us worried that a Clinton administration, in addition to being bad for America and for liberty, would also cripple the right-wing movement strategically. For the usual pattern has been that Democratic administrations are "good" for Beltway organizations because the conservative heartland gets scared and pours money into their coffers. In that way a Clinton administration would unfortunately strengthen the conservative and libertarian Beltway elites that have long been dominating and ruining the right-wing movement.

To some extent, this has of course happened; but more important is a new phenomenon that none of us predicted: that Clinton and his crew would be so monstrous, so blatant, so objectively hateful, that it would drive into being from below a new and burgeoning real right-wing movement that hates all of Washington, whether the actual rulers or the Official Conservatives and Libertarians who bend the knee in behalf of access and possible piddling reform.

We have America to win; we have nothing to lose but our chains!

Given this, what is the proper strategy for liberty? The first thing is for any conservative or free-market group or institution to be principled, radical, and fervently anti-Washington, and to avoid like the plague Beltway-itis, either in form or content. That is, to denounce rather than cultivate the Corridors of Power, and to call for principled and radical change rather than marginal reform, change that is clearly anti-Washington and anti-federal power.

Such proposals and programs should be designed, not for the eyes and ears of Beltway power, but to educate, inspire, and guide the extraordinarily sound instincts of the new grassroots movement. We are entering an era in which, happily, the principled position is evidently the proper strategy. More than ever before, principle and strategy are fused, in behalf of the victory of liberty.

A second necessary task is informational: we can't hope to provide any guidance to this marvelous new movement until we, and the various parts of the movement, find out what is going on. To help, we will feature a monthly report on "The Masses in Motion."

After the movement finds itself and discovers its dimensions, there will be other tasks: to help the movement find more coherence, and fulfill its magnificent potential for overthrowing the malignant elites that rule over us. Increasingly, as these elites strive to crush us, it is no exaggeration to paraphrase the rallying cry of our former chief enemy: we have America to win; we have nothing to lose but our chains!

Cuba: a Modest Proposal

by M.N.R.

Maybe I'm missing something, but as an economist I sense a certain amount of inefficiency in our present Cuba policy: the Cubans go on rafts in the Caribbean, we pick them up, and then we return them to the Cuban island at Guantanamo Bay. Why not save a lot of resources, cut out the middleman, and just let every Cuban who wants to pour directly into Guantanamo? Then maybe the entire Cuban population of 11 million will

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move to Guantanamo, and Cuba will be Libre.

What, you say that there will be "too many" people in the little area of Guantanamo? But I thought it was supposed to be statist, racist, and xenophobic to be opposed to "open borders" in any and all circumstances. So let's open the Guantanamo borders. Then U.S. taxpayers can keep all 11 million Cubans detained in a kind of concentration camp/welfare state. After all, Uncle Sap can support the world.

It would be a fascinating social experiment. Overcrowding? Well, let us say that the Cubans, herded into a tiny area, will end up, along with the restive Haitians, in a neo-Darwinian "survival of the fittest." As this slugfest and Hobbesian war-of-all-against-all heats up, maybe then we will realize that this is no longer the late 19th century, and that the U.S. can pull out of that naval base and fueling station altogether, and turn all of Cuba over to the Cubans.

In the meantime, the Cuban emigres in Florida are clamoring for a U.S. invasion of Cuba or, at the very least, for the U.S. to "unleash" them from the shackles of the Neutrality Act and let them invade Cuba on their own. Good. The Neutrality Act is a joke anyway, and it now only keeps private citizens neutral while the U.S. government wades hipdeep in every quarrel on the face of the earth.

Let's allow the exiles (indeed, let's encourage if not push the exiles) to take off on their own rafts and sail into Cuba, where they can duke it out, *mano a mano*, with Fidel and the Fidelistas. Whatever happens, and whoever emerges from the Cuban snakepit, the American people will be better off. ■

Nafta and the "Free Trade" Hoax

by M.N.R.

Now that Nafta has been safely passed in the estimable name of "free trade," the Establishment has at last deigned to let us in on the hoax. An article in the *New York Times* (Sept. 6) ruefully admits that trade barriers between the United States and Mexico, which Nafta was supposed to eliminate or at least sharply reduce, have, if anything, *increased* since Nafta took effect on January 1, 1994. Even though tariffs between the two countries have indeed been lowered, both the Mexican and the U.S. governments, driven by their respective special interests demanding protection, have rushed to raise such *non*-tariff trade barriers as phony health and safety regulations, government fees and taxes, anti-"dumping" measures, new rules of national origin and labeling requirements, and new and harsher environmental and labor regulations. All these new regulations, in addition to being statist and cost-raising in themselves, serve as barriers to trade between the two countries. Steel, meat, dairy, cement, lumber, oilfield pipe, paper and wheat industries in both countries have taken the lead in the protectionist clamor. The *Times* article also admits a point hammered at by Nafta's critics: that "the pact's sheer complexity, with hundreds of pages of cross-referencing clauses and formulas, has befuddled even many customs agents."

Now that Nafta has been passed, the Establishment has deigned to let us in on the hoax.

Nor did this consequence take the U.S. Establishment by surprise. As the *Times* concedes: when "Washington and Ottawa reached a trade accord in 1988, [it] brought down tariffs but [it] was followed by a host of new trade barriers." As Jeffrey E. Garten, Under Secretary of Com-

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merce for International Trade, recently admitted in an interview on trade with Mexico: "The history is that as tariffs are reduced, nontariff barriers are raised to substitute."

So why didn't Garten and his colleagues let the American people in on this important nugget of history *before* Nafta was driven through Congress by hysterical governmental and allied private propaganda warning of the dire protectionist consequences should this wondrous "free trade" measure not be quickly passed?

Moreover, one of the loudest arguments in behalf of Nafta was that should it fail to pass, our beloved "friend," the Salinas government of Mexico, and its one-party rule, might even be endangered. We all know one of the sour fruits of Nafta: the peasant revolution in Chiapas, explicitly timed to protest the initiation of Nafta on January 1; followed by the assassination of Salinas's hand-picked successor as Mexican president by forces still unknown. But the *Times* article also reveals near its bottom paragraph that part of what it calls "the anti-import furor in Mexico" is being generated by our buddies of the Salinas government itself! Thus, "public service" TV commercials feature U.S. imported automobiles breaking down or zippers on imported dresses getting stuck at inopportune times. Even the public schools have been conscripted into the battle against U.S. imports; thus, a Mexican "Children's Day" party this spring featured banners warning kids and their parents against evil "foreign toys."

Indeed, our brothers in the Mexican dairy industry have descended to outright hooliganism. In the northern border state of Chihuahua, the dairy interests obtained a 9 percent tax on milk imports from the United States. But still Mexican consumers in the city of Juarez kept buying milk from El Paso, and so the Mexican dairymen resorted to gangster tactics, slashing the tires of and torching American milk trucks, and beating up American truck drivers. It is fascinating to ponder the relative priorities of the U.S. government: threatening to invade Haiti for not being "democratic" enough even though no American interests are at stake, while Mexican thuggery against American trucks and truck drivers passes with scarcely a protest.

The *Times* article actually underplays the importance of these non-tariff barriers to trade, for it implies that one set of restrictions is merely replacing another. But it is well-known to economists that tariffs, as unfortunate as they are, are the *least* coercive and intrusive form of trade barrier. A tariff merely raises a price, whereas other restrictions impose various quantitative controls and forms of coercive rationing. Nafta has succeeded in substituting more harmful for less harmful forms of barriers to trade.

So what was the point of the Nafta exercise? The drive for Nafta was a cozy coalition: of left-liberals, who want regional and governmental bureaucratic control over trade for its own sake and as a giant step toward world economic planning, redistribution, and world government; big corporations who face import competition but who understand about non-tariff barriers and benefit from the increased paperwork and costs which disproportionately cripple their smaller competitors; and of course, big U.S. export corporations and their bankers who realize that "free trade" has, since World War II, been merely a cover for a network of U.S. governmental subsidies to export industries. The losers: U.S. consumers and small businesses in all industries. In short, the usual suspects who gain and lose, respectively, from the modern regulatory-welfare state.

The fight over Nafta may have come and gone, but it is important for Americans to heed its lessons: most immediately, in the coming fight over the World Trade Organization. ■

The Menace of the Religious Left

by M.N.R.

All the hysteria thrown up about the "religious" or the

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"Christian" Right by left-liberals serves as a convenient cover for the *real* menace to America and even to the rest of the world, not only of our time but of the last few centuries: the deadly threat of the "Religious Left," a Left which began, in the Middle Ages and even earlier, as a hellish Christian heresy, and by now can only be considered "Christian" in the most remote and twisted sense. This menace, which reached its most influential early form in the views of the charismatic and highly influential late twelfth century Calabrian Abbot, Joachim of Fiore, is "postmillennial": that is, it struggles to bring about, either immediately or as quickly as possible, a thousand-year Kingdom of God on Earth, a "perfect" and sinless world, a world which would be Communist, collectivist, and egalitarian, although that "equality" would be supposedly assured by the totalitarian rule of a cadre or vanguard of "saints," presided over by a self-proclaimed Messiah or proto-Messiah, whose reign would supply the pre-conditions for the eventual Second Advent of Jesus Christ. Private property would be stamped out, and all "heretics," that is, any dissenters from this messianic rule, would be slaughtered.

After Joachim, there came waves of these heretics, including the Amaurians, the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and the left-wing of the Czech Hussite Revolution. But before the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Church was able to contain this plague successfully. Say what you will about the Reformation, even Martin Luther came to acknowledge that he had unwittingly opened Pandora's Box, that he had unleashed, perhaps forever, the furies and crazies of fanaticism and horror.

In 1520, young Thomas Muntzer, a Lutheran pastor in southern Germany, unleashed upon Western Europe the scourge of what came to be known as Anabaptism: the imposition by force and terror of an alleged Kingdom of God on Earth, with a cadre of rulers, headed by himself, communizing all persons and property and killing all "heretics" who might dissent from his rule. For a brief but frenzied fifteen-year period, there was a real danger of Germany and Holland falling sway to groups of Anabaptist fanatics. Fortunately, when Muntzer urged Luther to join him in this messianic crusade, arrived at by alleged divine revelation, Luther immediately saw the deadly danger; at the end, the Anabaptist movement was crushed by an alliance of Catholic and Lutheran princes.

Movements can be stamped out, but ideas, good or bad, often keep marching on, and the same was true of the idea of imposing a totalitarian Kingdom. At troubled times, the idea popped to the surface: among the Familists, the Diggers, the Ranters, and the Fifth Monarchy Men during the English Civil War of the 17th century; and before and during the French Revolution. By the early and mid-19th century, the main carrier of a communist Kingdom was the burgeoning "socialist" or "communist" movement in Europe. [In those days, before the split between Bolsheviks and Mesheviks, the two concepts were considered by all adherents to be identical.] What is little realized today is that at the time of the flourishing of Karl Marx as a socialist/communist leader, at least half of the communist movement was heretically Christian, the other half following Marx's atheized version of the search for an apocalyptic and secular Kingdom. The victory for Marx's atheist version was not preordained; it was touch and go, until Marx's superior organizing ability and the dispersals following the failed revolutions of 1848 led to the complete triumph of Marxian atheism within the socialist/communist movement.

Indeed, the Marxist Communist utopia is virtually a replica of 16th century Anabaptism: once again, private property is stamped out, all resources—and people—are owned in common by a cadre of "saints," a vanguard headed by a messianic leader, and all dissent to this collective organism is crushed.

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Marx's theoretical problem was that since he could not rely on God, Providence, or some mystical force to bring about the allegedly inevitable Kingdom, he had to seek out "material forces"—the class struggle, productive forces, the "dialectic" of history—to constitute the inevitable engine of social change.

But the idea of messianic, Christian Communism never disappeared, and during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries it showed up in various forms: as Christian Socialism, the Social Gospel, and other variants of left-wing Christians and Christian leftists. Perhaps most fascinating and most blatant was the widely beloved East German Stalinist Ernst Bloch, whose widely known three-volume *The Principle of Hope* was translated into English in the late 1980s. Early in his lengthy career, Bloch—in common with many other Marxists—wrote a laudatory study of Thomas Muntzer, whom he hailed as magical or "theurgic." The inner "truth" of things, wrote Bloch, will only be discovered after a "complete transformation of the universe, a grand apocalypse, the descent of the Messiah, a new heaven and a new earth." For Bloch, mystical ecstasies and the worship of Lenin and Stalin went hand in hand. Thus, Bloch's culminating work, *The Principle of Hope*, contains such remarkable assertions as: "Ubi Lenin, ibi Jerusalem" [Where Lenin is, there is Jerusalem"] and that "the Bolshevist fulfillment of Communism" is part of the "age-old fight for God."

How is all this seemingly bizarre stuff relevant to the present day? My contention is that, bizarre and weird and horrifying as all this may be, we are not dealing merely with erratic odd-balls or with irrelevant history. My contention, ever since the Clintonian Democrat convention in New York in 1992, is that the Clintonian movement is not "centrist," or simply erratic, confused, or evasive, but that it is in essence a dedicated movement of the "Christian" or religious Left. It is an attempt to impose, not immediately as in the case of Muntzer or Lenin, but over a period of years, and as quickly as politically possible, a Kingdom of God on Earth, at least in the United States. The horrifying New York convention had very definite religious and even messianic overtones. The Kingdom, of course, is not the orthodox Christian Kingdom: it is collectivist, egalitarian, multicultural and "multi-gendered"; it deliberately overthrows and "transvalues" our entire structure of traditional or "bourgeois" Christian values and principles.

The Clinton Inaugural was a horrifying display of a neopagan, multicultural, New Age religious Left

It might be thought that one crucial difference between the current Left and the medieval or post-Reformation heretical Christian left is that the current movement of course trumpets the glories and even the superior morality of various sexual what used to be called "perversions," but are now worthy and even morally superior "alternative families" or "alternative lifestyles." But that isn't new either. The Anabaptists, the Brethren of the Free Spirit, and the rest were aggressive "antinomians," that is, claiming to be saintly, quasi-divine or even divine and therefore without sin, they believed in publicly demonstrating and even flaunting their alleged sinlessness by committing all manner of sins imaginable, including adultery, theft, and murder. The Clintonians have nothing on these older "Christian" movements.

The Clinton Inaugural was, of course, a horrifying display of a neopagan, multicultural, New Age religious Left at work, a fact, which, as I noted in a previous issue of *RRR*

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(March 1993), was only discerned by the liberal but highly perceptive New York humorist Fran Lebowitz, who struck a delightfully sour note, saying that even watching the Inaugural orgy of religious leftism on television had driven her to "a new planet of fury." Then, in the crucial early months of the Clinton Administration, Michael Kelly wrote an insightful and quickly famous article in the *New York Times Sunday Magazine* (May 23, 1993) [See *RRR*, July 1993], entitled "Saint Hillary," replete with a painting of Hillary on the front cover dressed as Joan of Arc, significantly wearing a sword but not a cross. After a lengthy and discerning interview with Hillary, the article, which was carefully neutral in tone but all the more effective, pointed out that Hillary thought of herself as leading the charge for "something on the order of a Reformation: the remaking of the American way of politics, government, indeed life." Hillary, the article explained, had set out "to make things right," to "make the world a better place," to install a "politics of virtue" or "politics of meaning."

Hillary was converted to her current grandiose stance, first by her hometown Methodist preacher, who introduced her to "alienation," the Social Gospel and Paul Tillich, and then to the admonition of that other trendy Left Protestant theologian of our century, Reinhold Niebuhr, that we must never be reluctant to wield Power in the service of The Good. An admonition that the power-mad Hillary took to as a duck takes to water. Hillary's most recent guru, of course, is the socialistic pro-war [Gulf War that is] peacenik, Michael Lerner, editor of the pretentious, glossy magazine *Tikkun* and notorious coiner of the phrase "the politics of meaning."

Armed with an all-encompassing ideology, and with what many interviewers have noted as her arrogance and complete self-assurance and self-righteousness, Hillary was now ready to wield total Power in the service of her own hellish conception of The Good.

It was reported that Hillary and her camp in the White House were furious at the Kelly article and its important revelations, and since then she has said not a word about the importance of remaking all of America by wielding State power. But the goal and the means are, unfortunately, still there.

And Slick Willie, too, Hillary's co-president and ideological puppet, underlying his continuing stream of lies, evasions, and tactical changes of front, is deeply committed to the very same goal. Considering his rotten character, does the Slick One's commitment to *anything* seem improbable? But consider two points. First, each and every one of his programs, regardless of attractiveness of label, whether it be "crime" or "welfare reform," is designed to increase the power of the State, that is, the federal government, and to diminish the liberties and the property rights of every American.

And finally, ponder this: Remember that weekend in August when Willie began his frantic and febrile, but unfortunately successful, drive to reverse his House defeat on the crime bill? He gave a speech in Maryland before the grandiosely named Full Gospel African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church. What the media reported Clinton to proclaim was odious and blasphemous enough: that "God wants us to pass the crime bill," and that his, Clinton's, "ministry" (?!) was devoted to that task. But he said something else in that speech, of far greater purport, that received almost no publicity. He said that the goal of his "ministry" was to bring about no less than the "Kingdom of God on Earth"! Yes, he said it, he actually said it! Now I have no idea how Clinton's "parishioners" reacted to this phrase, or what the almost uniformly secular media people thought they were hearing. Maybe they thought they were merely hearing a grandiloquent metaphor for improving society.

But *we* know what he said, and it is our business to inform America of its import before it is too late. *We* know that William Jefferson Blythe "Clinton" IV, that Monster in the White House, was at last

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revealing, perhaps in a typical moment of unguarded vainglory and exuberance, the cloven hoof, the face of pure evil, the unholy mission of himself and his Lady Macbeth. *We* know the truly diabolic nature of the Kingdom that the Clintons are trying to put over on an unsuspecting America.

And still the liberal media wonder: *Why* do so many people hate this charming and wonderful couple and with such intensity? ■

Dead Wrong

by M.N.R.

This summer, a book by a young conservative journalist made something of a splash by criticizing the conservative movement for abandoning its principles and ceding the field to Big Government. The book, *Dead Right*, by Canadian-born David Frum, was excerpted in the neocon *Commentary* and *National Review*, and granted blurbs by his former employer, neocon Robert Bartley of the *Wall St. Journal*, by neocon education critic Dinesh D'Souza, and by the Official Con Pope himself, Bill Buckley, who goes all-out by calling *Dead Right* "the most refreshing ideological experience in a generation." Wow!

One interesting question is why other recent critiques of modern Big Government conservatism, by paleos Paul Gottfried, Samuel Francis, and Justin Raimondo, received in contrast only a systemic blackout in the Official Con/neocon press. Perhaps the answer is that where it counts, David Frum is and always has been the Official Con/neocon version of Politically Correct: that is, he participated in the anti-anti-Semitic smearing of Pat Buchanan when he ran for President. I guess some matters are more important than conservative or libertarian principle.

David Frum participated in the anti-anti-Semitic smearing of Pat Buchanan when he ran for President.

While the Official Con/neocon axis has been friendly to *Dead Right*, it has not actually embraced the book. After all, Frum criticizes their icons; Jack Kemp is shown to be a Big Government man (in which the reader will find uncredited echoes of paleo Jeff Tucker's noteworthy demolition of the Buffalo football star), and even the sainted Ronald Reagan is correctly shown as cementing Big Government in place rather than effecting some sort of "revolution" against it. Interestingly, *Dead Right* has been sternly though amicably criticized *from the Left* in *National Review* circles. In *NR* itself, Straussian neo-con philosopher Hadley Arkes considers *Dead Right* too principled, and, similarly, former *NR* publisher Bill Rusher admonishes Frum that "Big Government is here to stay." Well, whoopee!

When Frum writes his chapter on the paleos, "The Nationalists," however, he runs up against a problem. His entire *shtick* is that various groups of conservatives are not principled enough in dedication to libertarianism or small government. [David Frum's own orientation is somewhere in the fetid zone where right-neocon meets left-libertarian.] And yet when he comes to the paleos, it surely must have entered his cranium that all the paleos are a lot more principled and more libertarian than *he* is. Moreover, whereas he is respectful toward the Official/neocons, his snarling hatred of the paleos, be they highly principled or not, shines through his treatment. So what to do?

The tactic Frum adopts against the paleos should be all too evident to any discerning reader. Any attempt at rational argumentation is dropped. Instead, turning nasty, Frum adopts two vet-

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eran left-wing ploys when muckraking the Right. One is quoting from the Enemy, and saying breathlessly, in effect, "look at what *he* says!", without bothering to refute it. The trouble is that this tactic will not be persuasive to Frum's conservative readership, most of whom (at least outside New York and the Beltway) will agree with the dread quotes in question. The second tactic is personal insult, which will certainly not persuade any decent or intelligent reader. And third, of course, is a mixture of the first two.

Some examples: a quote from Tom Fleming is dismissed as "demented," and one from me (from my speech to the John Randolph Club published in *RRR*) as "heading off to the booby hatch." So much for *that!* Sam Francis is a "huge man with a bright red face, who puffs cigarettes below anachronistic black hornrims." The bulk of Frum's venom is reserved for *Chronicles* editor Tom Fleming: who is "a strange man: a bearded leftover from the 1960s, an unsuccessful poet, briefly a teacher of classics at a small South Carolina college, who drifted into journalism and found himself at Rockford."

Consider this strange, nay bizarre, passage. First, put this in the context of the fact that only paleos are on the receiving end of Frum's little reportorial vignettes: for example, nowhere does he state that Bill Bennett is "thuggish looking," or that Kemp "is muscle-bound with a squeaky, high-pitched voice."

Next, for a textual critique, why is Fleming attacked for being mobile; surely, Frum, as a partisan of immigration, and as an immigrant himself, should value geographical mobility in America. Secondly, what exactly are Frum's credentials for judging poetry? Methinks they are about as shaky as his bona fides as a psychiatrist. "Drifted?" "found himself?" What exactly does this mean? The implication is that hobo drifter Fleming jumped off the train or the truck one day, "found himself" in the fair city of Rockford, and decided to settle down. I haven't talked to Tom about this aspect of his bio, but I'm reasonably certain that this is *not* what happened. An important omission of course, is that Tom has a Ph.D. in classics from the prestigious University of North Carolina, and that if Frum should ever magically acquire a small fraction of Fleming's brilliance and erudition, he would consider himself a very lucky man.

Perhaps the oddest phrase from this odious passage on Fleming is Frum's sneering reference to "a bearded leftover from the 1960s." Maybe the rubes in Canada automatically consider anyone with a beard a hippie-Commie, but *Americans*, Mr. Frum, are a bit more sophisticated. One would think that his years in the U.S. would have rubbed off, but maybe they can take the boy out of Canada but not Canada out of the boy. Or perhaps the New York and Beltway sharks that Frum hangs around with feel the same way. In any case, Frum deserves to be shipped back to his homeland forthwith, preferably to do penance for a decade among the Inuit somewhere on the frozen tundra.

Finally, the old adage about "people in glass houses" applies in this case, and in spades. If the author is going to insult people viciously about their looks, the publisher made a most unwise decision in the picture of Frum that he put on the flap. For Frum looks out at the reader with a particularly ugly smirk on his face. It is the sort of smirk which, apart from the contents of the book, would bring the average reader to reach for his machete. ■

The Campaign To Save Our Sovereignty

by Justin Raimondo

Juanita Chavez, daughter of Cesar Chavez, stood on a street corner in the Mission District of San Francisco, handing out leaflets. The leaflets denounced Proposition 187, California's Save Our State (SOS) initiative that would deny welfare benefits and free public education to illegal immigrants. But there

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were no takers. At this point, she tried a new strategy: according to a recent article in the *SF Weekly*, Chavez decided to address her target audience directly: *"Indocumentados!"* she shouted at two Latina mothers pushing strollers. Chavez then harangued them in Spanish, of course, about the dire consequences if 187 should pass: no more free clinics, no more free schools, no more free lunch.

Bingo! Chavez had a sale. The women not only stopped to listen but also agreed to attend a community meeting on the issue after Chavez assured them that the INS would not be there checking green cards.

Incredibly, the opposition to Prop. 187 is openly organizing around Mexican irredentism too! The *SF Weekly* informs us that "Juanita Chavez recounts meeting an elderly Mexican American in the Mission, who, after explaining the Hispanic-dominated history of colonial California, declared in a fury, "They have no right to do this to us. This was our land."

If the battle over Proposition 187 is defined in terms of Should the U.S. give California back to Mexico? The outcome would be a foregone conclusion. Posed this way, the question answers itself.

Unfortunately for our side, the Chicano nationalists are only one small facet of the anti-187 forces, a coalition spearheaded by mostly Anglo professionals: the teachers union, health care bureaucrats, and the burgeoning nonprofit services sector, which feeds off government largess and favors. Also opposed to SOS are the doctors, lawyers, and big business. The whole political establishment is lined up against Prop. 187, which does not come as much of a surprise to Ron Prince, co-chairman of the Save Our State committee, who attacks the many special interests that want the flow of illegal immigration to continue. Why? Because there are advocacy groups that profit from litigation, he says. Because they are multinational corporations that profit from cheap labor. Because they are bureaucracies that grow more powerful with ever increasing "caseloads."

Incredibly, the opposition to Prop. 187 is openly organizing around Mexican irredentism.

The argument made by the professional elites is that Prop. 187 will lead to the loss of billions of dollars in federal aid to education and health care facilities. A look at the substance of their arguments is revealing: for example, they point to the fact that the educational bureaucracy receives $6600 for what they call LEPS (Limited English Proficiency students) and only $4100 for EPS (English Proficient students): thus, if 187 wins, the system will suffer a net loss. By this argument, it would be better for all students in California's public school system to be LEPS, and the more illegal aliens the better! (Of course, what this argument ignores is the fact that federal aid does not cover the real cost of bilingual education, nor does it consider the cultural costs of bilingualism.)

The campaign to save California from a flood of illegal immigration is the crest of a wave of right-wing populism that is sweeping the country. The SOS initiative grew out of the first statewide organization devoted to stemming the tide of illegal immigration, the California Coalition for Immigration Reform (CCIR). The Coalition turned in nearly 600,000 signatures, with representation from all 58 counties. According to the California Secretary of State's office, the signatures on the petitions had a validity rate of 84%, the highest ever achieved by an initiative campaign in the state. Local groups sprang up seemingly overnight, and mounted a statewide campaign with no help from existing immigration re-

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form groups. (Indeed, when I called the establishmentarian FAIR, the Federation for American Immigration Reform, they not only wouldn't give me the telephone number or address of the SOS group, they denied having any knowledge, connection with, or sympathy for the group!)

In an interview, Barbara Kiley, mayor of Yorba Linda and co-chairman of the SOS initiative campaign, said the drafters of the initiative sat down to write the most radical proposal they could come up with, so that their victory would send a message to Washington that the immigration crisis is imminent.

Naturally, the smear campaign against Prop. 187 and its supporters has already begun, with Latino nationalists and their Anglo fellow-travelers charging racism. But SOS polls show that 45% of Latinos support 187. "This is a real people's initiative," says Barbara Kiley, supported by people of every race and creed who don't want to see the tide of illegals swell the welfare state. Entirely supported by the grassroots and by small donations, the 187 campaign is ahead in the polls.

While the irredentist argument is not likely to appeal to anyone outside Mexican nationalists, in San Francisco's Mission district it makes perfect sense: after all, it is fairly easy to vote in the Bay Area if you aren't a citizen. All you have to do is register. Asked how her office checks to make sure that illegal immigrants are not voting, Germaine Wong, San Francisco's registrar of voters, answered: We don't.

Prop. 187 calls for school authorities to cooperate with the INS in identifying the children of illegals in public schools, but San Francisco superintendent Bill Rojas helped fund something called the Student Empowerment Project, which is signing up voters and actively campaigning against Prop. 187. And so it is possible for illegal immigrants not only to vote, but to sign up their fellow *indocumentados* and form a voting bloc of their own.

As a comic sidelight to all this, the Libertarian Party of California has come out against 187, because enforcing it might harm "civil liberties." But this is just a cover for big-government libertarianism, since every effort to reduce and roll back the welfare state is a plus for liberty.

In fact, Prop. 187 doesn't even stop illegal immigration: instead, it makes it more selective, and restores the way things used to be before the welfare state took over. Illegal immigration has been with us a long time, but has only been a problem since the welfare state. Back in the good old days, the motivation of immigrants, both legal and illegal, was the same: to work hard and make a better life for themselves. Now a whole different set of motivations and incentives have sprung up. Prop. 187 weeds out the parasites and criminals.

When the Mexican consul general in San Francisco announced that his government would do all it could to defeat 187, the SOS committee held a press conference on the steps of the consulate and delivered a resounding rebuke to the meddlers in the Mexican government: stay out of U.S. elections! The campaign to enact 187 is the vanguard of a new American nationalism, a vital new force on the Right. These new populists are destined to replace the Washington-centered Conservative Establishment as the engine of a revived conservative movement in America.

From California to Colorado, throughout the South and even in the North, the movement to take back our country is growing by leaps and bounds. Victory in California will mean similar measures introduced throughout the country, a national campaign to roll back the multicultural socialism favored by the political and business elites. ■

School Reform Rackets

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

Forget lunch boxes. Many children in public schools this year can't carry them or book bags either. And they can't have lockers. This is supposed to solve the problem of guns and knives. Can't deny

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anyone the "right to an education," you know, so ineducable dopers and criminals roam the halls. Girls are raped in the bathrooms. Boys are robbed in the schoolyard. Ah yes, those good-old-golden-rule days.

What to do? Every reform since John Dewey has poured three poisons into an already sick system: egalitarianism (the belief that everyone is equally educable), statism (the view that tax money plus big government equals learning), and cultural leftism (the trashing of traditional religion and its moral code).

That's why, when we hear the word "reform," we should safeguard our children, and our wallets. For as bad as the present system is, every proposed reform I've seen—whether liberal or conservative—makes matters worse. None takes us toward the private and decentralist ideal.

When we hear the word "reform," we should safeguard our children, and our wallets.

Liberals want to pour more money into "inner-city" schools, to rescue them from the "plagues" of "poverty, drugs, violence, and despair." These are third-party disasters, like hurricanes. No one can be held responsible for them, but money can cure them.

In fact, of course, it cannot. Indeed, it's the reverse. Every new round of cash infusions only makes matters worse, for it strengthens the hold of the liberal bureaucracy and its therapeutic and leveling schemes. We seem to have forgotten that a good school requires teachers, books, desks, classrooms, a headmaster, and *nothing* else, as private religious schools show.

To obscure this, and have us focus on getting more money to the social workers, sex instructors, and condom dispensers, the liberals have recently called for eliminating property taxes in the name of educational reform. It's tough for a conservative to oppose the abolition of any tax, but unlike conservatives, liberals understand that property-tax funding of schools is as close to community-based education as we can get in a public system.

In the place of local property taxes, liberals advocate higher state-wide taxes, which can be easily increased and which eliminate the vestiges of local control by putting the state-level bureaucrats in total charge. Since most conservatives are too afraid to call for privatization of the public schools, they go along with the typical income and sales tax increases.

Why should the state government be ordering around localities? This is as much a violation of subsidiarity as the central government ordering around the states. And even if the new taxes raise the same amount as the property taxes, and *mirabile dictu*, they always raise more, the process is more damaging to the economy and the schools than property taxes.

The property tax injures wealth creation like any other tax, but it is also a tax that people feel directly when politicians increase it. As a result, taxpayers have a strong incentive to lobby local government to keep them as low as possible, and indeed these taxes have risen far less than state-wide and federal levies.

Revenue raised through sales or income taxes is also more amenable to redistribution, since the money goes into a single, centralized pot. Voters would object to their property taxes being spent on the inner-city; they don't know what happens to their sales taxes.

The property tax ploy was expertly carried out in Michigan over the last two years. Neoconservative Governor John Engler called for the elimination of property taxes, and liberals and conservatives cheered. Virtually overnight, these taxes were gone.

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The media approved, which is all we need to know, and sure enough, legislative debate soon centered on replacing and increasing the revenue, in part to make sure that the suburbs subsidized Detroit even more than usual. Through vote buying and log rolling, Engler got his way, and became the biggest tax increaser in Michigan history.

Leading the opposition to this ploy was Greg Kaza, Republican state representative from suburban Detroit. He voted to abolish property taxes on the libertarian principle that any and all taxes should be eliminated. But when it came to supporting Engler's tax increases, he refused. The Republican Party applied every kind of pressure and intimidation, as did the media, but he was loyal to his principles, and the best interests of his constituents.

The property-tax ploy, now being tried in other states, puts paleos in an awkward position. Should we support the elimination of property taxes even if we know it will lead to higher and less-controllable taxes of other sorts? This is a matter of conscience and prudence. Property taxes are more desirable than sales and income taxes, especially as regards school funding. Yet the Kaza strategy is also a good one: he votes against any and all taxes, and denounces anyone right or left who supports them. In this, he patterns himself on the greatest man to serve in the U.S. Congress in our time, Ron Paul. (Greg is also pro-life like Dr. Paul.)

The Official Right has other versions of education reform besides the property-tax ploy, of course, and tosses around words like choice and vouchers. When voters take a close look, however, they see that the "conservative" program is as big an enemy of good education as the liberal. For vouchers and choice are codewords for wrecking the system of school district separation, for funneling more welfare to the underclass, and for controlling private schools. The purpose of district lines is to separate: to keep schools community based, to allow them some degree of cultural coherency, and to provide an atmosphere conducive to learning. To the extent that public schools are tolerable, it is often due to the protective barrier of district lines.

Vouchers and choice are codewords for wrecking school district separation, for funneling more welfare to the underclass, and for controlling private schools.

Voters have proven astutely sensitive to any tinkering with school-district lines. A substantial number of families live where they do because of the schools. If we have the kind of school choice that allows cross-district immigration, the value of the homes in good areas will fall in proportion to the fall in the quality of the schools. Voters no more want inter-district choice than they want a public housing project next door. For that reason, conservative dreams of school choice will never be approved by an informed electorate (which is why "public-interest" law firms seek to achieve this social engineering through federal judicial power).

Vouchers have been defeated time and again, but for a slightly different reason. They are paid out of tax dollars, and therefore constitute a spending project. People presently paying tuition for private school would instead get a voucher, and be able to spend the money they saved on something else. And voucher-taking private schools—as I've discussed many times—would be subject to government control, for government always controls what it funds.

To summarize, our official culture presents two possibilities for education reform: 1) tax, spend, redistribute, integrate, and outcome-base educate to make everyone equally stupid, leftist, and immoral, or 2) abolish school dis-

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tricts, tax, spend, and statize private schools. Which do you choose? Higher taxes and crazy curriculum experiments, or a flood of the non-deserving into your neighborhood school and the destruction of private alternatives? That's why our only choice is to oppose all school reform until the intellectual climate changes.

In passing, I'll mention another tack taken by some conservatives recently. If voters aren't going to approve tax-paid vouchers for private schools, they have decided to raise the money themselves. They have started more than 20 "private voucher" foundations, or scholarship programs, around the country. The administrators of these programs are so anxious to demonstrate their "compassion" that they limit vouchers to black kids from poor areas. The voucher pays for their tuition at mostly white private schools. These students are then showcased in promotional packets explaining how great vouchers are.

At one level, these programs are unobjectionable, for they are voluntary, unlike conventional voucher programs. Yet most are stalking horses for government vouchers, and these should not be supported. Also, why are we only supposed to feel sorry for poor black kids in black schools? Why aren't the private voucher systems open to poor white kids, who are some of the biggest victims of public schools in today's cities?

I mentioned that we should oppose all reforms in the present climate, but that's a public-policy position. In our own families and communities, we should undertake massive educational reforms. First, we should try to avoid the public schools. Few are decent (although all can be made worse, and we should oppose that for the great masses of the people who will not leave).

And few middle-class parents, even today, cannot afford private education, if they are willing to sacrifice. I don't mean the establishment private schools, which probably should be avoided anyway, but religiously based institutions. And if your church or synagogue doesn't have a school, start one. I've helped in such an undertaking, and it can be done. And N.B.: I've never heard of a religiously based school turning someone away for financial reasons, *if* the parents are willing to work hard for the school, painting, cleaning, mowing, etc.

There is also the home-based private school. It requires only a hard-working father and a mother willing to teach, as well as their willingness to sacrifice as well. No one else's cooperation is necessary, and the family can avoid private-school tuition as well as the squalor, egalitarianism, and moral leftism of public schools. (And, by the way, welfare mothers should be doing this as well. That they use the preschool daycare of Head Start, public schools, and public after-school daycare shows that they aren't avoiding work to take care of their children.)

Some people object to homeschooling on grounds that students don't get a proper "social education." Yet social education in the public schools can mean gangs, drugs, and condoms. That's nothing to miss. Of course, being with other children is necessary, and so homeschoolers have established thousands of groups nationwide to provide sports, music clubs, and social outings. Because homeschoolers tend to be trustworthy people, the selection of playmates is bound to be better than the public school offers, and sometimes better than a private school.

It's easy to overemphasize the need for other children, however. A separate youth culture—with its own rotten music, clothes, and behavior—is a relatively recent development, and not a good one. Traditionally, after confirmation or bar mitzvah, young people were considered little adults, as columnist Richard Grenier recently pointed out, and they took their lead from their parents and other adults, not freely roaming teenagers. Home schooling helps reestablish that cultural norm.

But doesn't homeschooling violate the division of labor? Probably. Not every parent can be a great teacher. But especially for the parents concerned about religious

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orthodoxy, they can guarantee that at home, as not every religious school can. At its worst, homeschooling is bound to be better than the public schools. No parent is going to offer his kid crack cocaine. Or if he is, you can sure he's not homeschooling.

And from the standpoint of our liberties, homeschoolers are bound to provide an important bulwark against further educational controls for themselves and private schools. Homeschoolers bristle at the prospect of government interference, and lobby hard against it. They make even the U.S. Congress listen.

Church-based schools, parent-run schools, and home schools are the only encouraging education reforms in years. They prove that the state is not necessary for a good education, and that people can solve their own problems so long as social agitators leave them alone.

Shouldn't any sound educational reform proposal be built on these virtues? Shouldn't we stop hoping for some convoluted government scheme to save our schools and instead allow the little platoons of civilization to solve their own problems?

As it stands now, the only educational reform worth fighting for at the state level is cutting taxes and regulations. On the federal level, it is cutting taxes and regulations.

Then we can worry about abolishing the sink of evil called the Department of Education, and ridding our states of their equivalent bureaucracies and compulsory schooling laws. The public schools will take care of themselves once good parents have taken their children out, leaving the kids who should be out working anyway.

When the neoconservative reformers demand of us: what's *your* plan?, the response is simple: let families run their children's education using their own money. That requires nothing more than letting people keep the money they earn, and allowing them to spend it as they choose. ■

The Real Rosa Parks

by L.H.R., Jr.

Rosa Parks, the 81-year-old icon of the civil rights movement, was recently robbed and beaten in her Detroit apartment. Less-famous Americans face the same prospect, of course, thanks in part to Parks's liberal friends. They destroyed most social authority in this country, as well as the right of owners to control their property.

The mugging was another occasion for the liberal press to tell the story of Miss Rosa, the humble Alabama seamstress who refused to give her bus seat to a white man. She inspired other black people to boycott the bus system, leading to the more generalized revolution that threw off the white man's yoke. There's only one problem: in its popular version, the story is a myth.

Liberal scholars tell the truth, however, in such books as *Bearing the Cross* by David J. Garrow (NY: Vintage Press, 1986), which won the Pulitzer Prize and the Robert Kennedy Book Award, and *Parting the Waters* by Taylor Branch (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1988), which won the Pulitzer and the National Book Critics Circle Award, and was named a best book of the year by the *New York Times Book Review*.

Parks was no ordinary worker who decided to speak truth to power. She had been a political activist since joining the far-left NAACP 12 years earlier, and according to her own account, had been an anti-bus rules activist since 1943. She had taken part in voter registration campaigns, and even written the official letter inviting Martin Luther King to join the NAACP's advisory board. At the time of her famous arrest in 1955, she was an officer of the local chapter, a fact unreported in most media accounts of the time.

White liberals had been waiting for the right case to challenge petty segregation, and through it, their real targets, the right of free association on private property and freedom of contract in the labor market. Ten months earlier, 15-year-old Claudette Colvin had refused to give up her seat on the bus to a white per-

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son. Colvin was an active member of the NAACP Youth Council, whose official advisor was Parks. But the white liberals rejected Colvin as prone to "outbursts of profanity," according to Branch. In addition, she was a few months pregnant, and "Montgomery Negroes would not rally behind an unwed pregnant teenager."

Bus seating had long been a contentious issue in Alabama, which experienced brutal military rule during Reconstruction. When segregation was first legislated on Montgomery streetcars in 1900, blacks mounted their first boycott, which lasted all summer until an ordinance was passed spelling out the rules. Streetcars (and later buses) would be filled up from both ends, and if there were no seats remaining, newcomers of any race would stand. But blacks demanded, and got, explicit assurance that no person would have to give up a seat if another were not available. Fifty-five years later, this was still the rule.

But matters got murky in the "no-man's land," the row that divided blacks from whites, and which could be anywhere on the bus, depending on how the seats filled up. In a peculiar aspect of Montgomery's ordinance, either blacks or whites could sit in this row, but different races could not sit across from each other. Riders of one or the other race had to move if empty seats were available elsewhere, and issues of pride were bound up in who would be asked to move.

This was the nature of the dispute when Parks was arrested. Montgomery's bus ordinance did not require that she give up her seat when there were no other seats to move to. But the driver asked three blacks to move because a white person was boarding. That left no empty seats, so she remained seated. As she knew at the time, she was not violating the law. But the bus driver, perhaps knowing of her political bent and being specifically empowered to negotiate disputes in "no-man's-land," insisted that she move so as not sit across from a white.

Bus seating had long been a contentious issue in Alabama, which experienced brutal military rule during Reconstruction.

Parks was not subjected to brutality, as we are led to believe. In fact, she got a fair trial two days later. Parks was found *innocent* of violating the seating ordinance but guilty of resisting the legal discretion that bus drivers had in these kinds of disputes. She was fined $10.

At the time of her arrest, a friend of Parks's who had been on the bus telephoned a former official of the NAACP, E.D. Nixon, who had fairly good relations with Montgomery's white political establishment. Nixon angrily phoned the police station where Parks was being held, and was given the brush-off. Now he vowed revenge. He called a man who had waited a long time for such a case: Clifford Durr. Durr was a lawyer and Rhodes scholar from the Alabama gentry, who had made his name as a second-tier New Deal braintruster. He was an old friend of Lyndon Johnson, and related by marriage to Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black. During the anti-communist "witchhunts" of the late forties, Durr resigned as FCC Commissioner to defend suspected communists in danger of losing their government jobs.

But Durr needed no introduction to Rosa Parks. Nixon had recommended her to Clifford's wife Virginia as a seamstress, and for two years, Parks was a regular visitor to the Durr home, where she not only sewed their clothes, but learned their politics. Neither did Nixon and Durr need any introduction. A year earlier, they had worked together with Jo Ann Robinson, presi-

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dent of the Women's Political Council, to change the bus laws. Robinson wanted the city to adopt the Mobile bus-seating system, which would have had blacks board from the back, and whites from the front, until all seats were full, eliminating the "no-man's-land" altogether. But the Robinson-Durr-Nixon attempt to get this changed didn't work, in part because of opposition from the highly conservative black community in Montgomery.

Robinson was also a close advisor to Parks, a Robinsonian on the bus seating question who had been defying the black-white row rule for many years. In the past, Parks did so without incident (except for the time she was asked to get off the bus in 1943). But this time, she was arrested, probably wrongfully according to the law, and Durr knew he had his case.

"Rosa Parks was without peer as a potential symbol for Montgomery's Negroes," writes Branch, "humble enough to be claimed by the common folk, and yet dignified enough in manner, speech, and dress to command the respect of the leading classes." They "had seen a strengthened self-confidence in her the past few months," writes Garrow, "following a two-week interracial conference that the Durrs had arranged for her to attend at Tennessee's Highlander Folk School."

Ah, yes, the Highlander Folk School, which was founded by mysterious far-leftist Myles Horton in 1932 as a training camp for socialists and communists. When Franklin D. Roosevelt tried to award it a government grant, the American Legion protested that Highlander was a Marxist establishment. Indeed, as Horton explained, he founded it to organize the Southern proletariat for a "society operated by and for the workers."

"Rosa Parks was without peer as a potential symbol for Montgomery's Negroes," writes Branch.

But since the farmers and industrial workers weren't interested, he decided to organize Southern blacks, which he did with the help of Clifford Durr. And by the 1950s, Highlander's advisory board included Eleanor Roosevelt, Norman Thomas, and Harry Emerson Fosdick, even though the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee was to name it a Communist front. Aside from that question, most everyone saw it as teaching left-wing political ideas and promiscuous sexual practices.

Highlander was also the site of an incriminating photograph of Martin Luther King, taken in 1957, which columnist Carl Rowan said proved King was mixed up with communists. Along with King, it featured Myles Horton and Abner Berry, a correspondent for *The Daily Worker*.

A Tennessee judge padlocked Highlander in 1959 on grounds that it sold liquor without a license, but the motives for the shutdown were obviously mixed. In 1960, its corporate charter was revoked for violating the rules of nonprofit corporations, and, as required by state law, its property was auctioned off. Highlander then moved to a bigger town, but sheriff's deputies arrested everyone for what Branch euphemistically calls "the weekly workshop for unchaperoned interracial conduct." Four days later, local citizens burned the place down.

Before Parks attended her two-week workshop at Highlander, she wrote the school that she wanted "complete freedom for all people." When she returned, reports Branch, "her eyes had been opened to new possibilities of harmony between the races."

Soon after Highlander, but well before her arrest, Parks, Nixon, and Robinson had met with the Montgomery

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city council as representatives of the NAACP, and urged the city to adopt the Mobile system. But whites resisted the change, and nothing came of the meeting. Robinson told Garrow that "We had planned the protest long before Mrs. Parks was arrested." So much for spontaneous uprisings.

After the civil rights movement got underway, Parks herself proved to be of little use except as a mascot for white liberals. Even Martin Luther King quickly shut her out of any official role. He knew that Parks had long distrusted him. She knew that when Ralph David Abernathy urged King to help organize the boycott, King said he wouldn't do any work, reports Garrow. Yet he claimed all the credit, and refused to put Parks on the payroll of his Montgomery Improvement Association. "Parks is very, very disgruntled with MLK and really quite bitter," wrote Virginia Durr in her diary.

Parks as humble seamstress? Far from it. By the time she famously resisted the busdriver, she had long been an activist in left-liberal causes, been extensively trained in radical politics, lobbied the city for a change in the confusing bus law, and worked closely with the city's most powerful white liberal, who specialized in defending accused communists.

Parks may have thought she was leading an authentic movement against petty segregation, and doing so on behalf of blacks. But she was merely playing a scripted part in a much larger drama that had nothing to do with her, and everything to do with the power and malice of white liberals. The end result was increased racial hatred, and less real freedom for everyone, a far different result than if the dispute had been settled honestly, locally, and constitutionally.

Limited and localized segregation is gone, but a vast system of racial compulsion has been erected in its place. In the process, social authority has been crushed, grievously injuring civil society.

In the Montgomery of 39 years ago, the worst fear was of bus de-seating. Today, in Detroit, theft and mayhem are the norm. Rosa Parks wasn't in danger of being beaten by the busdriver. But at the end of her life, and of the civil rights movement which she allegedly began, she isn't safe locked up in her own home. ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Why Is the Ice Still White?

How do you make a p.c. movie about ice hockey, an inherently non-p.c. topic? (Non-p.c., because everybody in the sport is a white male.) I found out when "D2: The Mighty Ducks" was the only PG movie in the hotel's video listing.

I hadn't seen the first "Mighty Ducks," also a Walt Disney production and also starring Emilio Estevez, but I remembered that it was a big hit, that it involved good kids triumphing over evil, and that the Orange County, Cal., professional hockey team had been named after it.

What could be the problem, I thought? All the other movies were PG-13 or worse, and I had promised my daughter a movie when she finished her homework.

I should have known. First of all, Estevez is an actor in the Lee Majors tradition. Only one emotion, if I can call it that, crossed his face during the entire film—a mild bewilderment. But I soon learned to appreciate it as compared to the anti-white bias.

Americans used to worry about subliminal movie messages telling us to Drink Coke or Eat Popcorn. Now, for the majority, it's more than liminal: Hate Yourself, Hate Your People.

The movie starts in Minnesota, where all the Scandinavian and Wasp boys play hockey. But not only is the actor playing the coach Latino, his team—for the Junior Goodwill Games in Los Angeles—is composed of blacks, Hispanics, Asians (including a gay Chinese figure skater), an American Indian, and *girls*.

What, no HIV-positive forwards? There are a couple of white kids, including a stupid Texan, but they're pretty much along for the ride.

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Estevez temporarily loses his integrity to a capitalist who wants him to do commercials, but even the businessman becomes a good guy in an unexplained plot shift. We couldn't, after all, have the focus stray for long from the real bad guys: the opposing team from Iceland—blonde, blue-eyed, male, and thuggish, coached by a white tough with a perpetual sneer on his face.

Clad ominously in black (how come that convention is still allowed?), the cruel Icelanders defeat the multicultural Ducks by gouging and cheating. Then, a group of black kids in South Central L.A. teaches our heroes, in one afternoon, all the new shots and strategy they need for ultimate victory. And it's all to the tune, if you'll excuse the expression, of the rap, "Whomp, There It Is."

Movies tell the majority: Hate Yourself, Hate Your People.

What, you say that no one plays ice hockey in South Central? What about the black kid who saves the day, but who can only join his brothers on the team when one of the whites agrees to resign? There's supposed to be a lesson there, I think. Also saving the day is a girl goalie, and the coach's dark-haired girlfriend, whom he chooses over an evil blond from Iceland.

There *is* some great skating, and the stunt kids who play the actual hockey are credited at the end. Strange, but I didn't notice one female, Asian, or Hispanic name among them.

Suburban Rites

Jeff Goldstein, who calls himself a "semi-active pagan Jewish minister," is being taken to court by Madison, Wis., for refusing to cut his lawn, an overgrown tangle of grass, weeds, flowers, and bushes.

The greenery is "equivalent to me in the Creation," says Goldstein. "The plants are as valuable and as worthy as the people and the dogs and the cats. To me, all the vegetables out there are sacred."

"I pray to it," Goldstein said of his lawn. Even a light trim would be a "holocaust against the green creatures." (*New York Times*, 8/27/94)

Itty Bitty

The latest rap hit, "Short Dick Man," has even D.C. grade schoolers singing: "Eenie weenie teenie weenie shrivel little short, short man," says the *Washington Post* (8/22/94). "The sexy music, the bump-and-grind stuff, the teenage make-out songs are very popular now—but isn't that what it's always been?" asks rap producer Heidi Spiegel. "Except now it's more graphic and women are making the moves." This song has "great appeal to the female rap market," and to a "gay audience as well."

Tarnishing Go-Go

"Explicit Videos Tarnish Go-Go's Image," worries a *Washington Post* headline (8/27/94). It's Saturday night at De Zulu Cave in Washington, D.C., where the "temperature seems to be around 200 degrees. But no one in the unairconditioned warehouse seems to mind the heat: they are sweating, dancing, grooving. The music is go-go, D.C.'s own polyrhythmic funk," but once again, "D.C.'s home-grown groove" is under scrutiny.

People are selling x-rated videos taken at go-go dances, where scenes like this are common: "In one of the tapes, naked women are on all fours" are up on stage. "The women are thrusting and grinding their pelvises. Then men's hands," apparently the band's, "enter the picture; what follows is a series of activities for which the word 'obscene' would be an understatement," says the *Post*. A local tv station calls the tapes, which are sold in local shops,

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and the dances they chronicle, a "thriving underground market of filth."

One 23-year-old female gogoer protests that "I be funnin'. I'm my own woman. I can do what I want to do. What's a little cheek? People have seen cheeks before." Adds 18-year-old Rickeeta Cheeks, "Freak, tramp, 'ho, I've been called all of those things. If they don't know anything about me, it ain't nothing they can say."

Queer Partners

Leland Traiman, a nurse in Oakland, Cal., is starting a gay sperm bank called Prospective Queer Partner, for "homosexual men and women interested in starting families," says the *Washington Times* (6/13/94). Until now, he says, "all sperm banks in the world have discriminated against gay and bisexual donors. The reason given is AIDS, but the real reason is bigotry."

Shrine and State

After refusing to erect the statue of a white California explorer, the city of San Jose, Cal., is spending $500,000 to build a shrine to the Aztec god, Quetzalcoatl. Before the Spanish put an end to the practice, tens of thousands of Mexicans had their living hearts torn out before the "Plumed Serpent." Nevertheless, the statue will stand proudly in Cesar Chavez Square, says vice mayor Blanca Alvarado, to represent Mexican culture.

The Rev. Dick Bernal, Hispanic pastor of the city's largest evangelical church, opposes honoring this "bloodthirsty deity." But the Rev. Mateo Sheedy, a Catholic priest, has chastised Christians for fighting what he calls a "healthy symbol." (*Washington Times*, 6/6/94)

The Africa of the Western Hemisphere

Some black U.S. college students are spending a year in Brazil, billed as the "Africa of the Western Hemisphere," says the *New York Times* (6/11/94). But Kelli Moore of Spelman College in Atlanta finds "she is the only black student in her classes at the University of Sao Paulo," Brazil's largest with an enrollment of 50,000. "You can walk across campus and not find one black student," she says.

Black Americans get "a rapid introduction to the complexity of Brazil's race relations," says the *Times*. "On one level, there are the daily racial slights in a country where the average income of blacks is less than half that of whites." And it is "dispiriting to discover the overwhelming white dominance of a country that once promoted itself to the world as a 'racial democracy.'"

"I have been reading" Brazil's top business magazine "for the last nine months, and I've yet to find one black face," says Addison LePlatte of Atlanta's Morehouse College.

Rashida Sykes, another Spelman student, says the only two black faces she's seen in the leading newsweeklies were of carnival queens. So on their vacations, American blacks "escape" Sao Paulo for the black city of Salvador. "With its cuisine, people, and *Candomble* religion," it is the "capital of Black Brazil."

Moore said that white Brazilians were welcoming, "as long as I don't talk about blackness." She called these "harmonious social relations" a roadblock to "Brazil's advancement towards racial equality."

Scrabble Censorship

Responding to p.c. pressure, the Milton Bradley Company will purge between 75 and 100 offensive words from the next edition of *The Official Scrabble Players Dictionary*. The words include "kike," "darkie," "nigger," "spic", and "lezzie."

But Scrabble champion Joel Wapnick condemned the move as ridiculous. Removing some words will lead to the removal of others, he said, leaving fewer potential scores for players. "Any word that lexicographers agree has a common meaning belongs in the book." (Associated Press, 5/10/94)

SAT Scores Rise

The College Board has raised the average score on its math and verbal tests to 500 by "recentering" the scoring, says the *Washington Post* (6/14/94). For the exams, now

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called the Scholastic *Assessment* Tests because the word Aptitude was considered politically incorrect, "verbal scores will go up 70-80 points, and those scoring 300-350 in math will see the biggest increase. A few students who score in the higher levels on the math test actually might see their scores drop a bit."

"The current scoring was adopted in 1941, when mostly white, upper- and middle-class students took the SAT. Many were educated in private schools. Although 500 was the average score then, that average has been slipping since the 1960s, when a more diverse population began taking the test."

Bugged

When the first black science-fiction tv show, Fox's "M.A.N.T.I.S.," had several black characters deleted during pre-production and a white one added, Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition charged racism. The producers were trying to "attract white viewers," said the Rainbow's Commission on Fairness in the media. Can't do that, of course.

"It's gotten to the point where one expects that, any day now," writes William F. Powers in the *Washington Post* (8/26/94), "someone in Hollywood is going to announce a new series about 'a paraplegic African-American biophysicist' who develops a 'futuristic power harness' that turns him into a 'superhero' who must 'save the world from an infernal crime lord' in possession of a 'new and deadly biological weapon,' but only with the help of a 'free-wheeling Generation X bike courier' who frequents raves. Actually, that's the plot of "M.A.N.T.I.S.'"

Legal Frontiers

Lawyer Andargachew Zellke, in another case subverting free speech on private property, has been awarded $505,000 because a fellow lawyer at a Los Angeles law firm may have said things he didn't like.

The other lawyer, who denies the charge, is alleged to have called Zellke, out of his hearing, a "black prince" (he came from an upper-class Ethiopian family). He also supposedly said that Zellke only got into Harvard Law School through affirmative action. Ohh! (*Wall Street Journal*, 8/19/94) ■

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